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ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE

OF

ENGLAND,

On Occasion of the

DECLARATION

From *Holy-Rood House*, of *October*
the 10th, 1745.

By an *ENGLISHMAN*.

Quapropter de summa salute vestra; de vestris conjugibus ac liberis; de aris & focis; de fanis ac templis; de telluris ac sedibus; de imperio, de libertate, de salute, deque universa Republica decernite diligenter, ac fortiter. Cic. Orat. in Cat. 4.

L O N D O N :

Printed for H. WHITRIDGE, at the *Royal*
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[Price One Shilling.]

C. P. Johnston.

AN

ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE

OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND IRELAND

IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

BY MR. JAMES MACKENZIE



PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD

1845

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THE NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

AND THE BRITISH MUSEUM

OF NATURAL HISTORY

C. H. M. Mackenzie



A N
A D D R E S S
T O T H E

PEOPLE of *ENGLAND*, &c.

Countrymen, and Fellow Protestants;

EVERY one of us but too well knows, that an open Attempt is now made by *Force of Arms*, and as it now appears to be intended, of *Foreign Arms*, of the Arms of *France* and *Spain*, our old inveterate Enemies, and now at open War with us, to restore the Son; (whether real or pretended I do not now enquire, I will grant all that the most zealous of his Friends contend for, and *suppose* him the real Son) of the late King *James*; who, as we say *abdicated*, as the *Scots*, *forfeited* the Throne. I doubt not but many of you have
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seen, and will see, a *Declaration* lately published, under the Name of the Person, who assumes the Character of *Regent* of these Kingdoms under Him his Father : And I make no Question, but, as it is written with *formidable Art*, it will on many of you, those especially into whose Hands it is likely to be put, have the Effect it is intended to have, unless you are more upon your Guard, than an honest open *Englishman* is apt to be. If it ever behoves us to *think* and *weigh* Matters, to be *cautious* that we are not deceived with specious Pretences, that Prejudice and Passion does not *impose* on us ; 'tis at present : when all that is *dear* to us is at Stake ; when we are to determine on our Conduct *once for all* ; and in which, if we are *now* deceived, we can *never again* hope for an Opportunity of retrieving our Mistake. Be persuaded then, my Countrymen, to do as I have done ; to *weigh it well* as you read it. My Thoughts, and I hope you will see from my Manner of writing, *impartial* Thoughts on it, I lay before you with that unreserved Openness, which every Man, who at this important Juncture *feels* for his Country, ought. I can assure you I am *no Place-Man*, nor ever expect to be ; *no Tool* of a *Party* ; and I doubt not, but I have, as well as many *more* deserving Men, been branded with the Name of a *Jacobite*, meerly because I have often been obliged to act contrary to a Ministry. Let me then intreat your Attention, while I examine these *two* Points : *First*, Whether Side, *supposing* we are at Liberty
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to choose, is most for the *Interest* of our Country, a Name which includes in it, all the nearest and most endearing Relations of Life: *Secondly*, Whether we are under any *other Obligation*, which ought to determine us to one Side *rather* than the other.

However we may differ in our religious or political Principles, in our Likings and Dislikings of Men and Parties; we have in the present Case but *one common Interest*, the Preservation of our Liberties, Properties, and the Protestant Religion to *ourselves*; and delivering down to *our Posterity*, the sacred Trust as we have received it from our Fore-Fathers: and the plain Question is, Is this *more* likely to be done under the *present* Royal Family, or the *other*?

As to the *Protestant Religion*, can it be a Question, whether that is like to be safer under a *Protestant* or *Popish* Defender? A *Popish Defender* of the *Protestant Faith*! What an Absurdity! Would any one *choose* such? But perhaps you may think this is but *haranguing*, but *playing with Words*; let us then consider the Matter a little more closely.

'Tis indisputable, that *Protestants* are all, without Distinction, deemed *Hereticks* by *Papists*, and in a *State of Damnation*; on the other Hand, nothing is more *meritorious* with them than *converting* a *Heretick*; 'tis saving a Soul. Now can it possibly be, that a *Popish Prince*, supposing him a *good Man*, and to love, and to study the *Interest* of his People, should not be solicitous for their Welfare, and

earnestly endeavour, by the most effectual Means he could, their *Conversion*? He would naturally as much desire it, as you, were you a Roman Catholick, would that of your Son or Brother. And if 'tis *meritorious* to save *one Soul*, what would it be to save *a whole Nation*? Could the Prince fail of aspiring at the Happiness and Glory of *such* a Work; of bringing back into the Bosom of the Church so considerable a Nation as the *English*, after having been in Rebellion against it for above two hundred Years? What *Heroism* would the effecting of such a Work, as this, be looked upon to be, by the whole Body of the Catholicks? 'Twould be more than all Trophies and Statues; 'twould entitle him to *Saintship* and *Canonization*, and give him a *Red-Letter Place* in the Romish Kalendar. But could a Romish Prince be *himself* indifferent, would his *Priests* be so too, or *suffer him* to be? How would a *crafty Jesuit*, who, under the Seal of Confession, should be acquainted with the Prince's Heart, *seize every Opportunity*, which the Foibles of one, or the Authority of Absolution in the other, without which no Sin can be forgiven, should afford him, in order to *urge him to the glorious Work*?

If the Prince be *not a good Man*, and has *not* that Affection for his Subjects which he ought; he will however have all the *rest* of the Motives, but the Love of his Subjects, in common with the other; and will not have *that Tendernefs* for them, which the *other* has, to restrain him from the cruel Measures, which
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may be necessary to effectuate the Change. I will not here, Fellow Protestants, draw out to view the *Popish Methods of Conversion*, wherever they have the State with them; nor attempt to shew, how *void of all Humanity* they are; for fear I might be thought to write to your Passions, a Thing out of my Design: 'Tis to your *Understanding*, my Countrymen, that I would write, I need not to your *Passions*.

This will in *general* be the Case of all *Popish Kings* of a *Protestant People*. But if you consider the *particular Constitution* of the National Religion among us; you will see that 'tis *impossible* it should subsist under a Popish King, who is *really*, what he professes, a Papist. 'Tis absolutely impossible he should look upon, or allow, himself to be, what the Constitution supposes him to be, *the Head of the National Church*: 'Twould be *Herefy* in him to do it, and cutting himself off from the *Church of Rome*; among whom, 'tis an acknowledged *Requisite to Salvation* to own that *Supremacy of the Pope*, which we by Law have abolished: Nor can I conceive how any Popish Prince could possibly be *in Earnest in taking the Coronation Oath*, whereby he swears to protect the Church established; when he must needs be sensible, that he should, according to the Doctrine of his own Church, *be damned, if he kept it*. But his Church has it's Casuistry to help him out: The Oath of itself was *unlawful*, and therefore *not to be kept*.

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The *Desire*, and consequently the Endeavours, of any Popish Prince to *subvert* the Religion of a Protestant People he governs, will ever be *in Proportion to his Bigotry*, or Attachment to his Religion: Nor does it matter what his *Personal Virtues* are; they signify nothing in the Point of Religion; his Bigotry will govern all. The dethroned King *James* was a Prince of many *Personal Virtues*; yet his Bigotry for his Religion, hurried him on to *such Acts of Violence*, *such* an open Invasion of Private Property, and the Publick Constitution even in the State, in order to carry his Point in Church Matters, as united those Protestants, who were at first his most zealous Friends, in a Confederacy against him; which they saw *absolutely necessary* to preserve their Religion and Liberties. These are *Facts*, *notorious* and *indisputable*; as it is, that *his Son* is as *determined a Romanist*, as he was. Of this he has given the most ample Proofs, as he never has been able to prevail upon himself to *dissemble Protestantism*, or *abate* any thing of *his rigid Popery*; when it would have been of the greatest Service to him to have done it *. You have

* I cannot forbear here making use of the Authority of that animated and judicious Writer, who is so well acquainted with the Affairs of *Scotland*, the Author of an *Expostulatory Address to the Nobility and Freeholders of Scotland*, 'Tis well known, that when he was in *Scotland*, in the last mad Rebellion, he had not Policy enough, or Complaisance for the many noble Families who join'd in his mad Enterprize, to relinquish one Tittle of his Regard for Popery, or shew the smallest Decency towards his Protestant Clergy. All the Endeavours of his Friends, would not persuade him to make

have been made to believe perhaps, that the *present Adventurer* in Scotland, is however a Protestant. A notorious Falshood ! Can you believe, that had he been such, he *would have concealed it* at the present Juncture; when it would have been so much for the Service of his Cause to have declared it? What Reason, Fellow Protestants, have you to think that *he is less attach'd* to his Religion, than his *Father* or *Grandfather*? If you hear any such Tales artfully propagated; consider, *where, under whom, he has been bred*; in the most rigid Seat of Popery, the *Italian*; and under the Nose of the Court of *Rome* itself, whose Bread he has eat; and believe, if you can, that, under such a *bigotted Father*, such an *artful Court* has not had the forming of his religious Principles. Such now are the Religious Attachments of the present *Candidates for Restoration*; not the *least Proof* have you, not the *least Reason* to think, *that there is less Bigotry in them*, than there was in their *Predecessor*; who was sacrificing to it, the Constitution in Church and State which he had *sworn* to defend. What *Infatuation* is it then, all this considered, to imagine, that under *such Princes, such bigotted Popish Princes*, the *Protestant Religion* can be safe, can long *subsist* !

‘ make use of any of them in the Worship of his Family,
 ‘ —and ’tis well known, that when he resided at *St Ger-*
 ‘ *mains*, he absolutely refused the Protestant Gentlemen who
 ‘ fled with him, the Use of a Chapel for their Worship;
 ‘ though that was a Courtesy, the King of *France* would
 ‘ never have quarrel’d with.’

‘ *But*

‘ *But we had better have Popery than no Religion,*’ thus speak, thus *think* perhaps, not a few, who would be thought, who perhaps *think themselves*, zealous Friends of Religion. But in the Name of God, and sober Truth, my Countrymen, have we *no* Religion? are not the *Churches* open? are not the *Doctrines* of the Church of *England* taught in them? have we not the *same* Government, the *same* Discipline, the *same* Rights and Privileges, which our Forefathers ever since the Reformation have enjoy’d? and have not *Protestant Dissenters* of every Kind, the *Liberty* of serving God in their own Way? Has any the least Violation been made of the Constitution, or Privileges of the *one*, or of the Religious Liberties of the *other*? ‘ ’Tis true we have the *Forms* of Religion, but the *Influence* is gone; the *Great* treat it with that Disregard and Contempt, that the *Contagion* is spread into *all* Ranks and Orders of Men.’ Too far, I own, but still far from *universally*. Let each of us recollect how *many* there are within the Compass of our Knowledge, that are serious in their Profession of Religion, and on whose Lives it has all the Influence without Bigotry, that it ought to have; and that there are *some* still among the *Rich* and *Great*, as distinguished for their Piety, as for their Wealth and Rank; and we shall soon see that the Evil is not, by the Blessing of God, *past* a Remedy.

A prevailing Humour, which is not founded in *Truth*, and the *Interest* of People, can never be lasting; when it has had it’s run, it will in
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the natural Course of Things subside. If Gentlemen of Quality and Fortune, who have most to lose, would give me Leave, I would ask them, whether 'tis not their peculiar Interest, to have the Minds of all their several Inferiors impress'd with as strong a Sense as possible of their Obligations to Fidelity, Justice, and the Deference and Submission they owe to the higher Orders of Life? and if so, which has the stronger Sense of these, and most likely to keep him steady against contrary Interests, and contrary Passions, he who has a Sense *only* that 'tis right, and fit, and becoming to do so; or he who, *besides* and *over and above* that, believes that God has commanded it, that he shall infallibly be happy or miserable according as he does it; and has the Love of God, the Love of God rais'd on Christian Principles to invigorate him to it? the *former* is the utmost, that the fashionable Schemes of some late speculative Men can carry Sense of Obligation; the *latter* is what the Christian Religion establishes in the Mind of every sincere Believer of it; and, if he be of the Protestant Part of it, without enslaving his Mind to any implicit Obedience to Priests, or making him so much a Subject to the Church, as to destroy his Obligation to the State, or any of the Civil Duties of Life. Permit me then, Gentlemen, to ask you, whether it does not plainly appear, upon the Foot of Common Sense, and the known Nature of the Mind of Man, that to cultivate a Christian and Protestant Influence on your Inferiors is *your Interest*; and that 'tis the *Interest of the*

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Government to steer the Minds of the People, between Irreligion on one hand, and Bigotry on the other. And I believe, I may defy any Man to shew any Species of Protestantism, in which this can be *more*, nay, can be *so effectually* done, as in the Church of *England*, the Protestant Religion already established, and which 'tis a Condition of Government, as well as the Interest of the Prince to maintain. And though a Prince may at any Time possibly reconcile this to his *Conscience*, that he discharges that Condition by maintaining it in it's *outward* Rights and Privileges, without interesting himself in promoting the *Sense and Influence* of it on the Minds of his Court, and in consequence thereof, on the Kingdom in general; yet he can never reconcile it to his *Interest*, which must be promoted, or prejudiced, in Proportion as the *Influence* of it, so necessary to preserve good Order, and a conscientious Discharge of the relative Duties of Life, is invigorated or declines.

But the great Importance to the Great and the Governing, of promoting the Influence of Religion among us is evident, not from *Speculation* only, but, if I mistake not much, from *Experience* too. Since the Minds of Men have been let loose from the Influences of Religion, and the Fashion of paying no Regard to any Thing beyond meer Morality has prevailed, has there been a greater Degree of Fidelity, of Justice, of Conjugal or Political Faith, of a Sense of the Duties we owe the Publick, of Regard to Superiors of every Kind, to be seen, or rather of
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a general Licentiousness and Disregard of all? So that the Effect of all that Contempt, which has been shewn of Religion by those, whose Manners People about them, and below them, so studiously catch, has been to let them loose from those Principles they had, and give them no other in their stead. How great an Influence had Religion in preserving the Liberties in King *James's* Reign? or, had there been the same Fashion prevailing of holding all Religion in Contempt then as now, would the Opposition have been so strong? But this several of you, Gentlemen, I doubt not will call Preaching,—be it so; you'll hear at least such a Preacher as *Machiavel* *, whom I am sure you will not suspect of being a Bigot for Religion, and whom you must own so able an Observer on political Life, as to deserve a serious Attention. 'Tis a Position which he establishes, ' That
 ' wherever the Religion of any State falls into
 ' Disregard and Contempt, 'tis impossible for
 ' the Constitution of that State long to subsist.'

But I cannot let this Subject pass, without one Observation more from Experience, the Experience of the present Juncture: That there are Numbers now who without any personal Attachment to the Family; who being, however wrong, under no Apprehension of any Danger of their Liberties from the Change; who, in short, being otherwise quite indifferent who is King; who lying otherwise under very great Prejudices, are zealous for his Majesty's

* See Machiavel, sopra. Tit. Liv. L. 1. c. 11.

Interest solely on account of Religion. This is a Fact so glaringly true, that none I presume can deny it. Experience plainly shews, that the *true Protestant* is the *truest Subject*, and most heartily attach'd to the Defence of the present Family. At least, the Man who is attach'd to it, out of a Motive of Religion as well as Civil Liberty, is much more strongly attach'd than he who is so from Civil Liberty only.

Since then 'tis so much the Interest of the Great, from the Prince down through all the higher Orders of Life, to cherish the Influences of Religion, can we suppose that they will long be blind to their Interest, especially when a plain Experience awakens to Reflection. And may the Danger we are at present threatened with have that Effect, and we shall have Reason to bless God for it!

But let the Great do their Duty or not, 'tis in the Power of the middling Ranks of Life, if every one would exert himself as he ought, to prevent in a great Measure, the Contagion of the Contempt of Religion from spreading downward; if they would exert themselves in preserving the Honour and Credit of it, in proportion to the Disregard they charge on those above them. Now all this considered, and taking the Providence of God too into the Case; what Madness, beyond a Name, is it, out of Despair of defending themselves against Irreligion, tamely to give up the Religion, which our Ancestors as bravely, as piously ventured their All to preserve and transmit unto their Posterity? How much more *becoming* is it our Character

Character as *Englishmen* and *Protestants*, zealously to do all that Men can do in Defence of our Faith, and then leave the rest to Providence? And 'tis *wiser* much to exert ourselves before the Evil comes, than suffer under it when 'tis come. To be indifferent to Protestantism or Popery belongs to those, who believe neither, and yet know they must submit to One; not to those who are really Protestants.

Nay, even those though they have not the Reasons that you have, Fellow Protestants, for being zealous for the Protestant Religion, yet have no Reason to be indifferent about the Matter: There is a great deal of Difference, *even to such* between one and the other. Can Popery be re-established here without the Supremacy of the Pope too? and though the Publick might not be again taxed in Peter-Pence to the Court of *Rome*, yet how much must necessarily annually go out of the Kingdom, thither for Bulls, Dispensations, and Indulgencies? How much of the *Wealth* of the Nation would be locked up again in the Dronaries of Convents, and Religious Houses? How many *Persons* of both Sexes be again rendered useless to the Publick? How often would *our* civil Affairs be imbroiled by the Papal Authority, and Interdicts, Censures, and Excommunications clog the Wheels of Government, if not put all Things in Confusion? Though Inquisitions might not be erected to terrify, yet the *Liberty of the Press*, and our boasted Freedom of thinking and writing must necessarily be no more. What do you think, Gentlemen,

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of *Church Power* as it would *then* be? Is there no difference between a *married Clergy*, by which means they are interwoven in Interest with the Laity, and the Fortunes acquired in the Church again mix with, and circulate in Lay Property, and thereby all Attempts of subjugating the Rights of the Laity, that is, of their own Posterity, to the Church is in the very Nature of the Thing prevented: and an *unmarried Clergy*, by which a separate distinct Interest from the State is perpetuated, and what is received from the Laity, instead of returning again among them, goes to enrich and aggrandize that separate Interest; whence the Power of one must necessarily be constantly increasing, and of the other decreasing? Is there no difference between a Clergy who acknowledge no Head, but the *Head of the State*, and a Clergy who all * swear obedience to a foreign Head, quite independant of the State, and who together with the Clergy of all the other national Churches of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, bound by the same Oath to the same Head, are all together linked into one common System of Church Power, mutually defending, and advancing the Power and Interests of one another, under one common Head? Once more, Gentlemen, what Difference is there not between the *Power of the*

* V. Concil. Trident. Sess. 25. c. 2. Where you'll see what Care is taken to systemize all the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*, into one common Body, independant of the several Civil Powers.

Church of England, and *this Church Power*, armed with the *Authority* of Infallibility, and the Doctrine of the Necessity of implicit Obedience, to every one of it's Decisions under pain of Damnation, and with that Authority carried into Execution on every Individual, by exacting Auricular Confession to the Priest, a Member of the same great Leviathan, and investing him with * a judiciary Power of Absolution, and enjoining what Penance, and Satisfaction he deems meet: *a Church Power* supported not only by Authority, but by *immense Revenues*, and by *other more concealed Arts* of Indulgencies, and Masses for the Dead, and Donations, and Testamentary Legacies arising from the gainful Doctrines of Purgatory, and Satisfaction? Let me now, Gentlemen, ask you, if Priests of *all Religions* are the same? or whether there is no Difference between *Protestant Priests*, and *Papish Priests*, between the *Church of England*, and the *Church of Rome*, and if you are uneasy under one, what would you be under the other.

This, Gentlemen, relates to the Publick, but I suppose you have some *little Concern* for *yourselves* too. Tell me then, if the disagreeable Sight of a *Parson* too often meets your Eye *now*, how would you be pleased *then* to see your Streets crowded with all the several Orders of *Monks*, and *Friars*? How should you like to be forced to cringe to a haughty

* Concil. Trident. Sess. 14. c. 5. & Can. 9.

artful *Jesuit*, for his Interest, or counterfeit Zeal, by kissing with devout Reverence the Sleeve of a greasy *Capuchin*? I doubt not but you would make yourself very merry with the pompous Procession of the *Hoft*, or a more solemn *Corpus Christi* Day, if you *dared* to laugh. But remember, Gentlemen, you must not laugh, you must not talk, you must not write, but you'll *think*,—*Think* then, how you should relish a *Confession*, it will be dangerous not to be sincere, and confess you must at least one a Year, and receive too; how you should like the *Penance* enjoined by the Father. *Think* that however you should comply with this only in *Form*, your *Posterity* will come to do it in *Conscience*, and infallibly be, as long as they shall be, the Bigots you despise. But above all, Gentlemen, *think*—for 'tis a serious Affair, how should you like the *Restitution*, the meer Restitution of *Church Lands*, should some suitable *Permanence* be accepted for the *mean Profits* of them. The * Council of *Trent* has decreed all those who detain them, to be under Excommunication, 'till they have restored them, and obtained Absolution from the Pope; nor did the Pope, on the establishing of his Supremacy in Queen *Mary's* Days properly confirm the Alienation of them †. Or had he, if the *Condition*, the suppos'd Condition, has been *broke* through on our Part by a two hundred Years Rebellion against the Holy See, can we expect that his

* Sess. 22. c. 11.

† Dr *Burnet's* Preface.
Successor

Successor will regard that as *valid*? How would you do, should your Confessor, knowing you possessed of such, refuse you *Absolution*? Or the Pope *excommunicate* you, and the Thunder, the more than *Vatican* Thunder of a *Capias* follow the Excommunication? Or, supposing none of this, will not your Bigot Descendant be choused of them, and make it an *Act of Piety* to *restore* them?

But I forget myself, this Affair of Church-Lands belongs rather to the Consideration of which Side is more likely to secure us our Properties and Liberties. And here sure, it must be some very great, and very manifest Advantage, that must make us amends for the Sacrifice of our Religion, or rather no Advantage in point of Property can, or ought to justify the Sacrifice; at least nothing should tempt us to run the fatal Risque, but a Deliverance from immediate or certain impending Slavery. But this is so far from the Case, that the Reverse is true; that by sacrificing our Religious, we sacrifice our Civil Liberties too; nor can Popery ever be *forced* upon this Nation, or *supported* in it but by *Arbitrary Power*. So that was a Bigot Prince by natural Inclination, by Principle, never so much a Friend to Civil Liberty, his Zeal for his Religion would force him to sacrifice that to the Cause of God and the Church; and he must be *arbitrary* if it was *only to establish Popery*. But let us enter more particularly into what we are naturally to expect from the Success of the attempted Change of Government, with respect to our Properties

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and Civil Liberties, independant of these Considerations.

We have seen what the *Religious Principles* are of those who attempt this Change, and what must necessarily be the Consequence of those on our *Religious Interests*. Let us now consider what are their *Principles of Government*, and what will be the natural Effect of those Principles on our *Civil Concerns*.

I need not mention what the Principles of *James II.* were; they were indeed the *Family Notions*, to which it was by Education form'd, and which occasioned in the Princes of it those continued Struggles for Arbitrary Power, which has cost themselves, as well as the Nation so dear. Now what Evidence have we that the *present Adventurers*, Father or Son, have been bred up in more *moderate Notions* of Prerogative and Kingly Power, than the abdicating Prince, and those to whose Care their Education was intrusted, themselves had? or is it likely, that Men educated in the *additional* Horror and Aversion to the Men and Measures, by which their Family have suffered, should have been thereby better reconciled to those Principles, to which that Opposition to their Measures, which ended in their Ruin, was founded? If you imagine, my Countrymen, that their *Sufferings* have taught them more Moderation, you are much deceived: This very Declaration all palliating as it is, is a Proof of the contrary.

Is there in it any *Disclaim* of the *Power of dispensing with Laws*, assumed by the dethroned

ned Prince; any *Disavowal* of the *indefeasible*, *Hereditary jure divino Right* they claim, on which that Power is founded; any *Acknowledgment* that Government is a *Compact* between King and People, that on a plain, notorious, manifest *Breach* on one Side, the *Obligation* ceases on the other; that in such a Case in an *Hereditary Succession*, the Nation has Power by a National Act to set aside the *offending Branch*, and substitute the *next* it thinks it can, *with Safety to it's Religion and Liberties*.

These, my Countrymen, are the *Fundamentals* of our Constitution, and without these can no *Freedom* under Kingly Government subsist: And whoever does not allow these Principles, is himself *an Enemy in Principle* to our Liberty, to our Constitution. Now are there any such Disclaims, or Acknowledgments, made at a Juncture, when had they *changed* their Maxims of Government, they could not have failed to have done it? Do they found their Claim on the *Expediency* of their Restoration to the State; or on an *absolute unforfeitable Right*? 'Tis apparent which. We are every where, notwithstanding we have sworn Allegiance to another Prince, nationally constituted on these Principles, called *his Subjects*, his still, his *Property*. When he speaks of the National Debt, 'That it has been contracted under an *unlawful Government no Body can deny*;' when of all the Laws made since their Exclusion, they had all along the *undoubted Right to the Crown*; and, speaking of the reigning Branch of the Royal Family, a *Faction unlawfully*

fully bestowed the Diadem of a rightful Prince upon them: And when he promises to take the Advice of his Parliament, whether or how far he will pay the National Debts, contracted under an unlawful Government; when he promises to *ratify and confirm* such Laws as his Parliament shall approve of; it is all a Matter of *meer Grace and Favour*, that he promises: nay, with respect to the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of his People, he will *refuse* nothing they can *ask*. How *imperial* the *gracious* Stile! the People have not a *Right* to a Security for these, but if they *ask* he will *give*. Now let me ask the most prejudiced of my Countrymen, whether all this does not suppose either that no Prince whatever *can by any Act of his forfeit his Right* of governing, or that if he can, yet all that King *James* did was no Forfeiture of it, and consequently that we have all along lived, and our Fathers died, in the great Crime of Rebellion? Let me ask farther, are these Principles of Government, *consistent with our Constitution*; or is the Prince with such a proper Guardian of our Liberties? Is he who avows, either that we are *his Property*, as much his Property, however, we prate of Rights, and Liberties, as our *Fellow-Subjects*, his *other Beasts of Burden*, his Mules or Horses are; or though he allows the Crown to be a *Trust*, yet maintains 'tis no Breach of that Trust as King of *England* to make himself absolute; is he not likely to take the first Opportunity of making himself so?

Now

Now this Opportunity in the present projected Scheme of Restoration, he will, if he succeeds, immediately have : for the Secret is now out. It is to be effected by the Powers of *France and Spain*, 'whose able Offers of Assistance are accepted, and who have engaged to support him.' If he succeeds therefore, it must be by *Conquest*; by vanquishing the National, and Auxiliary Foreign Forces, and subduing the Kingdom; and that by the Arms of our ever constant hereditary Enemies, and now besides at open War with us, *France and Spain*. In case of such a Conquest, what Property, what Liberty, should we have, but what would be in the absolute Disposal of a *Prince*, a Bigot against our Religion, and exasperated by the Sufferings of a long Exile, against that Spirit of Liberty from which he and his Family had felt so much; and of his *Supporters*, our old Friends, whose greatest Glory would be the Ruin of the proud heretic Islanders. But suppose that *Bigottry* should cease to be *cruel*, and *Resentment* forget to follow the Suggestions *natural* to it; would not *Policy*, true Machiavelian Policy, dictate such Measures as every *Briton* ought to tremble at? I would ask the most zealous of his Friends, (what it will not be in the Power of any one, or all of them, if resolved on, to prevent) what Security they have, that the Measures resolved on to *establish the Throne of Conquest*, would not be *at once* on one Hand to cut off the *Rich and Powerful*, all that would be likely or have Interett enough to oppose

oppose their future Measures, and seize upon their Estates and Possessions ; on the other by spunging off the national Debt, and taking away some of the most burthensome of the Taxes endeavour to attach the *common People* to them. This would *humble* the haughty *Britain* at once, and answer all the Purposes of the Prince and his Auxiliaries. It would fill the *Coffers* and secure the *Power* of one from all Attempts of his then, *truly Subjects*, till that generous Spirit of Liberty, the Glory and peculiar Distinction of *Britain*, would wear out and be no more : And how would the *other* triumph in the Desolation, and riot in the Spoil ; as this would at once destroy that Commerce and Naval Power, which has made us so formidable to them ; and by removing the Weight and Power of *England*, out of the Scale of the House of *Austria*, into that of *Bourbon*, would entirely destroy the Balance of Power, and enable that ambitious House to do, what it has been for more than a Century past endeavouring to do, to give Laws to *Europe* : and *both* would alike share the Glory of extirpating Heresy in *England*, and giving a mortal *Blow* to the *Protestant Interest abroad*. I know not how great the Force of Prejudice may be in the present Case, great I know it is ; but as great as it is, I believe every one will acknowledge that such a Scheme of Settlement is on a *Conquest* very practicable ; there needs nothing more to do it, but to *resolve* on it. Besides an Army ready fledged in Blood, how many Thousand
 Popish

Popish Hands, how many bigotted *Irish* too, that have a kind of hereditary Claim to the blessed Work of Massacre, who would think the cutting the Throat of a Heretic doing God Service, are there at Hand ready to be dispersed over the Kingdom for the Purpose: All the Parties concern'd likewise find their *Account* in it, and their *Passions* naturally lead to it. Is it likely then, that they will prefer the more uncertain Method of general Consent and Approbation to that *surer* one of Power, for one or the other must take place; and that when the Prince has *absolute Power in his Hands*, he will *voluntarily resign* it for that, which after what he has felt from Liberty, he cannot but think a *precarious Dependance*? Who can believe it, or that there is any thing that would hinder this Scheme from taking place, but the *Wickedness* of it, or the strong *Promises* of the Security of our Religion and Liberties, we have in this Declaration? What Dependance then we can have on these let us consider.

I doubt not but an *honest* Mind, unacquainted with the *political* or *religious* Wickedness of Men, would think such an extirpating Scheme too monstrous to enter a human Breast; but how many Instances of this Kind will he find in History, where there has been nothing *but Civil Interests or Civil Rage*, to inflame Men, without any *additional one of Religion*? What Effects then may not *both* together have? What they *may* have on the Mind of a Catholick, and what the Interests

terests of the State and Religion, *mix'd together*, are capable of producing, any one may see in that horrid Scene of Treachery and Butchery, the Massacre of *Paris*, as drawn by an Historian of undoubted Veracity, and a Catholick himself, *Thuanus*. When civil Bloodshed once begins, no Man can tell how far the Rage of it will carry him; and I doubt not but many a one at first have trembled at those Measures, which his *Passions*, or perhaps what he thinks *Self-Defence*, at last make him without any Remorse run into. How many *Pretexts* will a *willing* Mind find out not only to salve these to the World, but to himself? They have been all Hereticks, all Rebels, they suffer no more than their Crimes deserve; and God has thought fit after so long a Forbearance to punish them for those Sins. The Regent at his landing, did by a Declaration publicly promise a free Pardon of all Offences committed before the Publication, and at the same Time, and by his Proclamation of *October 9*, gave them to understand with what Rigour they must expect to be treated who continued in their Rebellion; that therefore 'tis their own heretical and rebellious Obstinacy they have to thank for their Fate, who would not accept of Mercy when offered them. Besides the Auxiliaries are at War with us, and have a Right to use all the Means which God has put into their Hands, to subdue their Enemies. But besides was the Prince himself on such an Occasion inclined to Measures of Humanity, 'tis probable that his Auxiliaries

liaries, that is, while here his *Masters*, would not permit him. 'Tis an Opportunity, which in Ages might not occur again, and they would, or I much mistake, make use of it, when they had it, in some Shape or other to the Ruin of their old Rival. Would *Spain* do you think forbear effectually to revenge the Disgrace and Loss of the Armada? Alas, my Countrymen, what Horror soever you may conceive at such a Butchery, how many Thousands are there by whom it would be looked upon as a Master Stroke of Policy, or a glorious *Auto de Fé*? And what Scruples, what Qualms soever the Prince himself might have, an Absolution from *Rome* would effectually wash out all the Stain, with which his Hands were imbrued. If then we are on such a Conquest to depend on any thing for Security of our Liberties, our Properties, and Religion, from those *worst* of Evils, which such a Conquest in the present Circumstances will probably be attended, it must be the *Promises* made us in this Declaration.

Men are apt to *promise largely*, when 'tis much their *Interest* to promise, and to find out *Salvo's for the Breach of their Promises*, when 'tis their *Interest not to keep* them. And that *Princes* too are *Men*, in *Promises*, as well as other Things, every Prince almost in *Europe*, besides our own, and 'tis no ordinary Glory this, has since the Death of the last *Austrian* Emperor sufficiently shewn. *French Faith* is become as great a Proverb in our Days as the *Punic* was of old; and Jesuitical *Evasion*, and *mental Reservation*, which is but another

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Name

Name for *promising with a Design to deceive*, as well known among the Romanists themselves, as among us. There are but few who do not know that *Maxim* of the Church of *Rome*, which at proper Times they stick not openly to own, and at all Times to practise, that * *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*. Name me, my Countrymen, if you can, one Popish Prince, who ever has kept *Faith* with his Protestant Subjects. How many Instances of the *Breach* of it, have we had in our own and our Fathers Days! We have seen *Germany* almost kindled into War, before the Protestant Princes of it could obtain a Stop to be put to the Infractions of the Treaty of *Munster* by every Popish Prince almost in it. We have seen the poor *Saltzburghers* and *Palatines*, forced to fly their own Country, and take Sanctuary in remote *America*, to shelter themselves from the Violations of that Treaty, the Privilege of which their Princes would not suffer them to enjoy. And indeed, what is said in the Preamble to the Revocation of the *Edict of Nantz*, which

* They are the very Words of the *Council of Constance*. As shocking as this is to a Protestant, and would be to an honest Heathen Ear, that Christian Catholic Council, has it's pious Reasons for it. 'Our Obligation to God is a prior and stronger Obligation, which makes void and null every other.' And, that you may not think this only an antiquated Doctrine of the *fifteenth Century*, the moderate and Protestant Pope (so he was called) *Clement II.* has in *this Century*, almost in the same Words, declared Stipulations in Favour of Protestants, 'utterly null and void; whenever they are prejudicial to the *Catholick Faith*, the *Salvation* of Souls, or any Rights of the Church whatever, even though such Engagements have been often ratified and confirmed on Oath.' Clem. II. Epist. & Brev. Rom. 1724.

was passed with all imaginable Solemnity, and declared *perpetual*, and *irrevocable*, may be said equally of every Promise made by Popish Princes to Protestant Subjects, 'That it was made in compliance to the Necessity of that Time, and on design to bring those, that were promised to be for ever tolerated by it, into the Bosom of the Church.' We have had but two Popish Reigns, since the Reformation begun among us, Queen Mary, and King James II: they both promised, as solemnly as any Thing is promised here, and both broke their Promises in almost numberless Instances, though the Reign of the longest of them was but four Years. What Reason therefore, have we to depend on these Promises more than those? Nay, what Credit can even an Oath obtain, when the Person that takes it, can have Dispensation before he breaks it, or Absolution after; nay, can be obliged by the Censures of his Church to break it. 'Tis plain then, no Promises or Assurances made in this Declaration with Regard to Religion, can be relied on.

But as you have Reason to disregard all the Promises here made you, my Countrymen, in Religion, on account of the religious Infidelity of the Maker; so you ought to be very much upon your Guard, with respect to Promises of Civil Security; for though the Popish Maxim, that Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, does not reach to Civil Cases, yet Jesuitical Evasion is always to be suspected, where it may be suspected that a Jesuit may be concerned; and here, if I am not much mistaken, Evasion betrays the Jesuit, or the

Jesuit's Disciple. The *Insincerity*, which the Author of this Declaration has made use of in the *great* and *main* Article of it, though indeed 'twas necessary to his Purpose, yet shews how little Promises *so occasioned, so attended*, are to be depended on. The great Design of this Piece is to prepare the Minds of the People for an *Invasion*, by endeavouring, and indeed 'tis most artfully done, to take off the Prejudice and Horror, which such an Attempt from *France* and *Spain*, must have upon the Minds of every *Englishman*; who cannot easily be led to believe, that they would at any Time, much more when at open War with us, be at the Trouble to *invade us for our Benefit*.

This therefore is kept out of view; till all the Delusion of the fairest Promises is insinuated, and the *friendly* Reader is cajoled into a Belief of the Integrity and Purity of Intention of the Father and Son. Then he brings before their Eyes the wonderful Success of his Arms, from such little Beginnings, and would insinuate that the Finger of God is in the Case. He passes before him an Extenuation of his Grandfather's Conduct, and the Sufferings of his Family in Atonement of them. After having thus engaged the good Opinion, and the Pity of the Reader, he brings in view all the Subjects of popular Dislike, in order to raise Disaffection, and an ill Opinion of his Majesty; and then promises ample Redress of all Complaints. The Mind of the Reader thus disposed, he proceeds to the main work; to touch the String of Invasion from *France* and *Spain*, but

but with a very gentle Hand ; and would lead you to think that this was no part of the *Original Scheme*, but that his Father was afterwards *necessitated* to accept of the Offers made him, because foreign Forces were before introduced, and to be introduced on the other Side. Here is *great Art*, but, what is often the Case where there is, *little Sincerity*. He before, when he is going to make a Miracle of his Success, having told us that *he hired with his own Money a small Vessel, ill provided with Money, Arms, or Friends, and landed in Scotland, attended with seven Persons*—says” *his Expedition was undertaken, unsupported by either France or Spain*. ’Tis true, as it *happened*, he was *unsupported* by either, but had not the brave *Brett*, full as *providentially* as any Thing, that has happened in the boasted Success, fallen in with the *Elizabeth*, a French Man of War of great Force, that attended him, plentifully provided, with Money, Arms, and Men, and disabled her from pursuing her Voyage, he had not landed with *seven Men, and unsupported*. And can any one believe that since the Arrival of the *Dutch* Forces here ; he in *Scotland*, and his Father at *Rome*, that they could send from *Madrid* and *Paris* to *Rome*, and offer their Assistance, and he accept it, and his Son in *Scotland* know this, before the 10th of *October*, the Day the Declaration is dated. Can any one think that the Scheme was not concerted long before ; and the *original Plan*, a meditated, concerted Design with *France* and *Spain*? Was it not so when they intended

intended to have stolen a Descent upon us from *Dunkirk*, and the young Adventurer was then ready with his Father's Declaration, to have headed the Expedition? These are all *Facts*; known to all the World; *Facts incontestible*; and to have been the Child of *Tencin's* Brain, Prime-Minister of *France*; and who therefore cannot but have been a good Friend to *Britain*. *Promises* are pliable *ductile* Things, and can easily be wiredrawn, as the Maker pleases; but *Facts* are of a stubborn, *unyeilding* Nature. What Dependance then on a *Veracity*, which, in Spite of notorious *Facts*, endeavours to *invert* the Truth, and shift off the Odium of all that we may suffer, by Foreign Troops, of different Nations, being introduced among us, and *Britain*, becoming the Scene of War, from himself and Father, on a Prince, who therein acts only in his own Defence? Whoever considers the Measures of *France* this last Year, and how it has preferr'd to the *main* Point in *Germany*, an inferior Interest in *Flanders*, cannot but suspect that the taking of *Ostend*, a Port so convenient for the Invasion of *Great-Britain*, was part of the Inducement; and that 'tis from some Blow *here*, she designs to make herself amends for the Loss of the Empire: Which 'tis certain by having the Power of *England* at her Beck, instead of her Enemy, she would more than do. And I wish it may not be found at last, that the whole Campaign has been but an under Part of the *grand* Point in View, *reducing* and *ruining* *England*.

What

What follows in the same *palliating* Paragraph, designed to take off the Impressions, which such goodly Auxiliaries, notwithstanding they were *forced*, contrary to their Inclinations, to make use of them, must make on the Minds of the People, is *another* Instance of Art and Evasion. What the Nation has to fear from such, if the present Attempt succeeds, is too obvious to bear Discussion, and too tender a Point to have *much* said of what is *proper* to be said to obviate it ; for Fear the Courts he depends on might think it a kind of Disclaim in them of the Advantages they are to receive by the *Bargain* struck with them : and that there is some such Bargain struck, none can doubt, who knows that *France* never uses to give *Something* for *Nothing*. For these Reasons that Point is artfully evaded by asking, *Will the World, or any one Man of Sense in it, infer that he* (his Father) *inclines to be a tributary Prince, rather than an independent Monarch?* But that is not the Question ; the Question is, whether he would not choose to be a dependant, a tributary, or *any* Prince, rather than precariously depend for his very Bread on the Charity of other Courts ; and this I believe no one Man of Sense in the World doubts. The following Challenge of His Majesty to send away the Foreign Troops, and then to fight him for his Crown, is too *Romantick* to deserve a *serious* Answer ; and the Subject too serious to admit of any other. But this is not mere *Rhodomontade* ; 'tis *Art*, 'tis craftily designed to take the Mind *off from*,
instead

instead of *entring into*, the Consequences of a *French*, and another *Spanish* Invasion.

After so much Artifice and Evasion, in so plain a Case, can you *depend upon the Sincerity* of the Person in any other? 'Tis but reasonable sure to *examine* the fair Speeches. Now these are *Professions of good Intentions*, or *Promises of Security*. As to the *religious Assurances*, that the present *Attempt is not made in order to impose upon any a Religion they dislike*, but to *secure all in the Enjoyment of those which are at present respectively established*, I shall not any farther concern myself with these, nor with the *Promise of Securing our Religion to us*, but to shew you the Evasion of it: *Popish Faith* has been already shewn. But let us consider the *Civil Assurances*.

He tells us that " *he judg'd proper in this Publick Manner to make manifest, what ought to fill the Hearts of all His M——'s (his Father's) Subjects, of what Nation or Province soever, with Comfort and Satisfaction.*" Is it the Invasion of *France* and *Spain*, which ought to fill our Hearts with Comfort? Scarce I believe. It is in short the gracious Intention of his Father, and the Security *he* here gives us for our Religion, Laws, and Liberties. His sole Intention is to *reinstate all His M——'s Subjects, in the full Enjoyment of their Religion, Laws, and Liberties*. His sole Intention! what all for our good? without the least *Regard to himself*, or Recovery of what he looks upon as his Right? This indeed is *wonderfully* gracious, especially to a People who have lived

lived so long in Rebellion against him, 'tis quite *Heroism*: Especially considering who his Supporters are. But it is his *sole* Intention, besides his *other* Intention of re-instating his Family, which must be supposed. Then where is the Heroism of it? 'Tis for *his own Sake*, not *ours*: And I doubt not but he will do his own Business first and ours too, or I am much mistaken. And what Assurance have we of this his *other sole* Intention with respect to us? His Word; his *bare* Word, contrary to all Appearances of Probability; *not* indeed his *own bare* Word, but his *Son's* Word, that this is his *Father's* Intentions: And is it impossible that he can be deceived in that *himself*, though his Design was not to deceive *us*?

But we have besides, the Son's Word for the Father's Intentions, the Son's *actual Promise*, "in his Name, that he shall pass any Law, that *his Parliament shall judge necessary*, [for any farther Security that it shall be deemed proper to be given to the established Church or Clergy.]"—with Regard to our Properties, 'tis the *Abbey-Lands*, and the *Funds* that are supposed most in Danger, and which most are concerned in; for as to *Grants* from the Crown or *forfeited* Estates few are interested in them. As to the *Abbey-Lands*, which the two short Popish Reigns we have had since the Grant of them, did not allow Time enough to effect the Resumption of; such of you, my Countrymen, as are *Possessors* of any of them will please to observe, that you have not so much as a *Promise* for them; not a Word is

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there

there about them. Why? His Cabinet must answer that. 'Tis not impossible, but that the Possession of these may be made a Handle, for *sequestering* all the rest of the Estates of the Proprietors, by way of *Indemnification* for the *mean Profits*. 'Tis at best a very *forboding* Silence; for he could not but know, how *many of great Properties* are interested in them. And as to the *National Debt*, he does not *actually* promise to confirm what has been contracted under an unlawful Government, but that he "*will take the Advice of his Parliament,*"—*As to the Laws passed since the Revolution*, he does not actually promise *in particular* to confirm *any one* of those, that have been obtained for the Security of Liberty against Prerogative, but of every Law or Act, except that of the Union; as they have been made by an illegal Parliament, that "he will confirm them in so far as, in a free and *legal* Parliament, they shall be approved of."

After which, says the Declaration, and "now we have in His M——'s Name given you the *most ample Security* for your Religion, Properties, Laws, that the Power of a *British Sovereign* can grant:" (I can tell him a *much more ample one*, the Enjoyment of them we at present have) "We hereby for ourselves, as Heirs apparent to the Crown, ratify and confirm the same in our own Name, before Almighty God, upon the Faith of a Christian, and the Honour of a Prince." Now the whole of this *ample Security* is the Son's *Promise for his Father*, by virtue of his Regency, which we know not, whether he has or no a

Power

Power to make: And a solemn *Ratification* and *Confirmation* of the same *by the Son*, which he has no *Power* to make; for who among us ever heard before of the Heir apparent of the Crown confirming and ratifying what the Father does? 'Tis the Business of the Father, or the Prince, to ratify what the Son or Deputy does, not of the Son or Deputy what the Father.

This relates to the *Validity* of the Promise; but what does the *Promise itself* amount to? There is in all this not a *specific* Promise of any *one* Thing; but a *general* Promise of doing or confirming what *his* Parliament, or a *legal* Parliament, a Parliament called by *his* Writ, shall advise. Now such a Parliament would be truly *his* Parliament, his *Tools* and *Creatures*; who would not advise *one* Thing, or take *one* Step, but what he *himself* was covertly to *direct*, or what they knew would be agreeable to him. So that to refer all Things to them is to refer them to *himself*; and all these Promises of Security to our Religion, Properties, Liberties, and Laws, do in *Reality*, and *good Truth*, amount to no more than *this*.—That he will pass such Laws for the Security of the Church established as *he* HIMSELF *shall judge necessary*;—That he will with regard to the National Debts, *take Advice of* HIMSELF,—and that he will confirm the Laws made since the Revolution, *so far as they by* HIMSELF *shall be approved of*: And that he will faithfully keep *this* Promise no body doubts. Such now, Countrymen and Fellow Protestants, is the ample Security, for your Religion,

gion, Properties, and Laws, which you have granted you by this Promise; and 'tis the greatest which the Power of a British Sovereign in this Circumstances can grant: Nay, 'tis *more*, for his Auxiliary Masters will not suffer him to do what he *himself* shall think fit, if it is not what *they* too shall; and you may be assured they will think that *fittest*, which is most for *their Interests*, that is, for the *Ruin of Britain*. Such, my Countrymen, is the *New Magna Charta* of the Restoration: *Such* Religion, *such* Laws, *such* Liberty, *such* Property; as a Popish Prince, breathing *Bigottry*, and a *jure divino arbitrary* Power; as *France* and *Spain* shall think fit to grant you. This now is *indisputably* the Case on a *Conquest*; and it is indisputable that the present Scheme is by Conquest. The Conqueror will have all the Power in his Hands, and he may use what he pleases; nay, this is the *best* of the Case, supposing no Proscription, Massacre, or Extirpation, to take place. This is *all* that is *promised* you. Now that a Parliament called together by the Writs of these *Promisers* would be such as I have represented, there is not the Shadow of a Doubt. For it must be called, either when the Invader is in Possession of a *part* of the Kingdom only, or the *whole*: If of a *Part*, none would dare to obey the Summons, but such Places as were in his Power; and of those Places none would dare to *choose* any, but what they should be *directed* to choose; nor the *Junto* to do any Thing, but what they should be *bid to do*; If of the *whole*,
this

this would be the Case of the Whole, and tell me what *Borough*, what *County* of *England*, would with the Daggers of the *Highlanders*, *French*, and *Spaniards*, at their Throats dare to choose any other than a *Conqueror's Candidate*. This is, if they should think fit to allow you, the *Form* of your present Constitution, and not resolve to make use of the Opportunity of the Sword to model you to the present *Form* of *France* and *Spain*, and entirely lay aside *Parliaments* here, as they have done the *Free States* there.

What think you, now, O *Englishmen*, who are still so, how little while soever you may continue; who are still *Freemen*; what think you of the *Evasions* of this Piece *designed* to draw you in to lend a *helping Hand*, or at least to be *indifferent Spectators* of your own Ruin; and to lull into Security, relying on *faithless, evasive Promises*, a People whom they saw rousing into a Spirit of Liberty, worthy of themselves. If so fraudulent, and evasive are their very Promises when they are most concerned to *promise largely*; what will be their *Actions*, when they no longer stand in need of keeping their Promises? Are they not plainly made with a *Design to deceive*? And smell strong of a *Tencin's Cabinet*?

We have seen now, my Countrymen, in *what* Situation, with regard to our *Civil Interests*, (a Point we cannot be indifferent in, however we may be in Religion,) we are like to be in, *should* the projected Scheme of *Conquest*, under the Name of *Restoration*, take place. And certainly in a most dreadful Situation, with
respect

respect to them must we be in *at present*, to give any Colour to a Step; whereby we *risque* the *worst* of Evils that can befall a free People; and *at best* hold all that distinguishes Englishmen from Slaves of Power, by that *weak* Thread, the *Will* and *Pleasure* of the Prince: Of a Prince who maintains that he has a *Right* to make Slaves, of us if he pleases; that be he Tyrant as much as he pleases he still is your King, and obey you must; who, though his Family has suffered so much, and is still suffering under the Effects of these their *hereditary* Notions of Government, yet cannot prevail upon himself to disavow, to *conceal* them, at the very Time that he is courting your Favour with the finest Words that Art, and the fairest Promises that Evasion can furnish. Nay, so blessed a Situation as this is, arrive at it you cannot, but through all the Havock and Desolation of Civil War: and when you have, the *Price* you must pay for it is; if not a *servile* Dependence on those, whose Ambition you have so long withstood, whose Troops you have so often vanquished; yet the Sacrifice, of the Acquisitions of so long a War, of *Mahon*, or *Gibraltar*, or *Cape-Breton*, or all; of your Trade and Naval Power, that is, in the End of your Liberty too; for I believe no Man, who thinks at all, can think that *France*, and *Spain*, will do all this for *nothing*. Such a Situation of Affairs, my Countrymen, is *that Thing* you call a *Restoration*; which some of you with a Blindness, that seems the *Curse of Providence*, are venturing your Lives, and Fortunes, and Happiness

Happiness of yourselves and Posterity to *procure*; which many more with a kind of judicial Indifference are *unconcernedly looking on*, as if they thought Things so bad already in *our present Situation*, that they cannot be worse in *any other*.

I know, my Countrymen, what many of you think, I know *what* your Complaints are, how grievous you think them; and can easily imagine that the Manner in which these are brought before your Mind, by the Author of the Declaration, may have called up all your Prejudices, set them before you in a most aggravating Light, and made you *greedily swallow the Promises of Redress*, that follow the inflaming Application to your Passions: It was intended for that very Purpose. I know not whether what I may say, may have any Weight with you, but I can with great Sincerity assure you, that I have given them all, all the Complaints, that I know of amongst us, an impartial, sedate Consideration; and did intend to have laid the Result of this before you in the *present Address*, but considering that it would have drawn it out into too *inconvenient* a Length for *general* use, I have declined it at present; I may perhaps do it in a *Second*. Give me leave *now*, only to assure you, *in general* from my own Experience; that if you will but *impartially* consider them, you will find them not *so numerous*, nor *so grievous*, nor *so threatening to Liberty*, as you on slight occasional Reflections, born along as it were with the Stream of popular, prevailing Complaint, have thought them. *Some are entirely*

entirely without Foundation : others a *few Years* will necessarily from the nature of *Things put an End* to : And those which are most truly and grievously so, *cannot* be made use of to *subvert our Liberties* ; are as great a Burthen upon *Prince* as *People*, and are *unavoidable* upon the Scheme of governing by Parties : And upon the whole they are *all such*, as will admit of a Constitutional Redress, a Redress by means of Persuasion, and Intreaty, without Arms and Violence, by Representation, Remonstrance, and Petition.

The good Effects of such a Method of *Redress*, as there is no immediate Danger, we *may wait for with Patience*, and you *will*, if you will but practise that Moderation recommended by the *Declaration itself* in it's concluding Paragraph, with which I shall conclude my *Cautions* against it, in which I think I have not left any Part, I am sure not any of it's *Inducements*, unanswered ; “ *If you will give as little loose as possible to that party Rage, which never fails to produce in the Minds of those, whom different Interests, Principles, or Views, set in Opposition to one another, Rancour and Ill will.*” Whether this, which is a great Truth, was designed to restrain those *Excesses* into which he saw his *Followers ungovernably* running, or to *damp* that generous Spirit of Liberty which he found rising every where *against his Cause*, I know not ; but it is certain it has not had the *former Effect*, nor will it I *hope*, together with all the Delusion it winds up, have the *Latter*. Only remember *what* the

the Scheme is, what the only possible Means of Success.—*Conquest*; and by whom,—by the *Arms of France and Spain*; and sure, let your Notion of your Grievances be what it will, you cannot hesitate which to choose; the *present* with all it's Inconveniences, or the—*dreadful Future of Conquest*. What have you to secure you from all the fatal Consequences of it,—but *Words*, but *Promises*, but Promises in their Nature most *unlikely* to be kept, and attended with all the *suspicious Circumstances*, with want of Veracity, with Evasion, and mental Reservation? There are some, I fear, who struck with a kind of *Pannick* for Liberty, and laying it down as a Principle, that that Complex of Parliamentary Dependence, Corruption, standing Armies, &c. which they fear, gives the Crown the Power of making itself absolute, whenever it pleases, and that upon the Foot Things are at present, Liberty cannot long subsist; that we have no longer any Hopes of Redress from Opposition in Parliament, Patriotism being by all the Leaders of it in their turns betrayed; and therefore the present Opportunity is to be laid hold of, and the Consequences ventured, we never being like to have such another again; and that at worst we can but be where we were: There are some, I say, of my honest, well meaning Countrymen, and real Friends of Liberty, on whom Thoughts of this Sort have a kind of *Opiate Quality*, and render them insensible of the *Pangs* for Liberty, which they would otherwise feel. With such; without entring

into a Discussion, how well grounded such an Opinion of the Power of the Crown is; I have nothing at present to do, but, admitting it, to shew, that the Danger of the Abuse of this Power is not so *great* on the present Foot of Things, as it would be on the other; that *there* there would be several very great *additional* Dangers, to which in the *present* Government we are no Way exposed; and that we should at *any Time* have the same *Kind* of Redress, should an Attempt be actually made on Liberty, as at *present*, and in *much better Circumstances*.

Now, my Countrymen, thus despairing of Liberty, and desperately ready to run into Slavery for Fear of it, permit me to ask you; Have you not known now by almost a *twenty Years Experience*, that his present Majesty; if he *has* the Power, which you suppose; will not however *make use* of his Power to subvert your Liberties? In this Case therefore you trust, one you *have tried*, and know you can trust; in the other, one you have *not tried*, and therefore, know not but he may abuse that Power. But besides this, in one Case you run *no* Risque of losing your *Religion*, or being obliged to make *Concessions of Trade, and Dominion*, to your National Enemies: and the *greatest* in the other.

Add to this, that *at the worst*, should any succeeding Prince attempt your Liberties, you will at any Time have the *same Kind* of Redress, as you flatter yourselves is now offered you; and without running any of the *Risques of this*. Our Posterity, my Countrymen, would have

have recourse to *another* Revolution, and *another* Protestant Prince; which the *present* Royal Family would furnish against any Attempts of Tyranny; and who would have just the *same* Pretensions against an inheriting Branch of this Family, as *this* against the *last*. And here *Liberty* would be defended, without any Danger of *Religion*.

But should there be *no such Branch*, or none that *would* attempt the Deliverance; yet we should *then* have the Power of *accepting*, what is *now* not solicited, but *forced* upon us; and in *much better Circumstances*. France would be *always* ready to divide *England*, because 'tis *always* it's Interest; and it would be attempted then by *national Consent*; and, if necessary by *French Troops*, yet by *French Troops* not *at War* with us, and those not more Auxiliaries to the *Recalled Prince*, than to the *Nation*. So that *should all*, that the most obstinately blinded, and foreboding of our Countrymen *ominate* at any Time *come to pass*, we should *at the worst* be in a *much better Situation* than we can now be *at the best*; and that best against all *Probability*, and natural Consequences of Things. Nay, should we *fail* in that Attempt, we should *even then* be in a *much better Situation* than we shall be *now*. We should then be *but* Slaves, we should be *Protestants* still; but in the present Case your Success, my frightened Countrymen, would be the *Loss* of your *Religion*, as well as your *Liberties*.

Judge now, Countrymen, and Fellow Protestants, *whether Side*, with respect to *Reli-*

gion and *Liberty*, is most for the *Interest* of your *Country*; whether the Cause of *Duty* and *Loyalty*, or *Rebellion*: for *that* you'll find to be the Case, if you'll consider *whether, over and above the Point of Interest, you are not under another Obligation, which ought to determine you to one Side rather than the other.* You'll find you are *not* under any Obligation to him who *assumes* the Title of King; but *are* to his *present Majesty*; that one has *no Right* to the Crown, the other *has*; that in Consequence of this you are not *at Liberty* to choose which Side you may *like* best, but under an *Obligation* of high Duty to obey *him*, who is your *rightful and lawful Sovereign.*

I believe there are very few left among us, who are Friends to the present Scheme of Restoration upon the Principles which this Declaration proceeds on; the *Jus divinum* the exil'd Branch has to the Throne, their Hereditary Right, which no Misgovernment of theirs can forfeit, or which is *indefeasible.* Such of my Countrymen, as have brought these Principles with them out of the last Age, I have no Hopes to convince of the Absurdity of them; or make them see things in a different Light, from what they have done a whole Life: But they who are discontented, out of Prejudices imbibed against the present Family, which are much the largest Number of the Disaffected, and who have learned to *talk the Language* of the Party they have joined; or who never have considered the Nature of Civil Government, and therefore are apt to look upon the Crown

to be as much an *Estate*, as their Farms are: Such of my Countrymen, if they will attend only, will, I'll be answerable, see the Ridiculousness of the Divine Right of the *Stuart* Branch of the Royal Family, to be still our Kings. For I would ask, is it, as 'tis a *Property*, or a *Trust*, that they found their Claim of Indefeasible Hereditary Right to the Crown? It must be on one or the other.

Suppose it as a *Property*; this supposes too, that the Prince has a Right to his Subjects, and what belongs to them, as his *Property*; that they are *his*, and that he may govern them just as he pleases. If an *Englishman* can bear to consider himself as such, I would ask him where is this *Jus divinum* of the *Stuarts* to be found? If God has declared this to be *his Will*, we are undoubtedly to obey; but *where is this Will declared?* It must either be in his *revealed Will*, or in the *Law of Nature*, which may be considered as *his Will made known* to us by *our natural* Faculties, as the other by farther supernatural Revelation. But is any thing pretended of an exprefs *specific Appointment* in either of the *Stuarts* to this *Property* in the People of *Great-Britain*? Their Right therefore to it must be included in the *General Rights* which Kings, *Hereditary Kings* at least, have, or may have, to their People as their *Property*? Where then is this Divine Right, which Kings may have, to be found?

If this is to be found in the *Law of Nature*, it must be in the Dominion of the *Lord* over the *Slave*, which can be founded only on *Conquest*,

quest, and be itself a *tacit Compact* or Covenant, by which the *Conquered* accept, if no express Conditions are made, of holding Life and Property at the *meer Will and Pleasure* of the Conqueror, and submit on *those Conditions*. We will suppose now, that *William* the Conqueror, had acquired such a Right; we will suppose too, that the *Stuarts* are descended from him, in that Method of Succession, which the Will of the Conqueror appointed, to transmit the Crown to his Posterity: Yet, if *Slaves* can become *free* by the *Will of the Lord*, which no body will controvert; then are the Kings of *England* no longer by Right *absolute Lords*, nor the People *Slaves*; every *Concession*, made to the People, by the Princes in the Descent, is valid; and the *Compact* is no longer that of Obeying, and Governing by the *Absolute Will and Pleasure* of the Conqueror, but obeying and governing by the *Conditions* consented to by those, who had the *Rights*, or remaining Rights of Conquest in them. Now *what* this *varying Compact* is, is known by the *Laws* of the Realm; it's unwritten *Customs*, and written *Statutes*. Beyond these the Subject is not bound to obey, nor has the Prince a *Right* to govern. And if a *Subject* by breaking those *Laws* may for himself and Posterity forfeit all the Rights, which he is intitled to under the Compact; so may a *Prince*, by refusing to abide by the National Compact, *forfeit for himself* all Right of governing, for he has a Right to it only on those Conditions; and, as the Son can claim no more Right than the

the Father had, forfeit the same *for his Posterity*. Now that *James II.* did *thus refuse* to abide by the *National Compact*, as it stood in his Time, is *indisputable*. He refused to govern *by the Laws*: He not only knowingly refused to govern by them, and violated them in abundant Instances; but avowedly *maintained a Right of dispensing* with them, that is, of observing, or not observing them, just as he thought fit; which is making his *absolute Will* and Pleasure, instead of the *Laws*, the *Rule* of his governing: And, when he had promised a free Parliament, and that he would replace Things upon the Foot they should advise, he, rather than *consent* to such a *Re-establishment of the National Compact*, though promised, destroyed the Writs he had ordered, left the Nation in the utmost Confusion, and without any Government; and went to seek the *Re-establishment of himself and his assumed Power*, by the same friendly, foreign Force his Son at present does. If this was not *refusing* any longer to stand to the *National Compact*, and *renouncing all the Right* he had to govern, that is *Abdicating*; let any one tell me if he can, what is. Entirely devoid therefore, of all Pretensions to a Right to the Crown on the Foot of *Property*, is the Remainder of the *Stuart* Family, from any Right of the *Law of Nature*.

Let us see then, whether they have any Pretensions to the *Jus divinum* from the *Revealed Will* of God, the Scripture. Is there any Thing in Scripture of the King's *Property* in their Subjects? so far from it, that the Civil Government

Government is there expressly declared, *a Trust*, and the Civil Power to be the Minister of God unto us *for Good*.

But if Civil Government be *a Trust*, let us but consider *for* whom it is a Trust, and *from* whom; for *whose Benefit* the Governor governs, and *by whom* he is *entrusted* with the Government; and we shall soon see the egregious Nonsense of the *indefeasible*, hereditary *Right* to the Crown, as a *Trust*.

'Tis too obvious to bear any Dispute, for whose Benefit the Governor is intrusted with the Power he has, 'tis for the *Benefit of the Governed*; and, whether or no the *Salus Populi* be the *Suprema Lex*, 'tis however, the *End of Civil Government*. This is an acknowledged Maxim in the *Law of Nature*, and the *revealed Law* as expressly confirms it, by declaring that Princes are the Ministers of God unto us *for our Good*. This, I say, is obvious and indisputable; the Point is, *Who* it is that *does entrust*, *from whom* has the Governor the *Right* of governing. Here then I again ask, is there in the Law of Nature, or the Revealed Law any *specifick Designation*, or Appointment of the *Stuarts* to the *Trust* of governing the People of *Great-Britain*, any more than there is a *giving* them to them as their *Property*? 'Tis plain there is not. But once more, is there in *either*, any Appointment of *Monarchy in general*, *Hereditary Monarchy*, to be the *Form* by which Nations are to be governed? If so, all other Forms of Government are *unlawful*; if not, then 'tis left to Nations to *choose* their own

own Form, and the *Consent of the People*, makes the *Lawfulness* of the Form of Government, and gives the *Right* of governing, unless where, as in Cases of Conquest, they have precluded themselves from this Power. Thus the *Trust* of Government is from the People, and the *Governors* are by the People intrusted, with governing in the Form and Manner they make choice of; and this in hereditary Monarchies, as well as other Forms of Government. And where there is this Consent, there is that * *Ordinance of Man*, which we, in the Revealed Law, are commanded to submit to, either in the King, as *Supreme*, or in those Magistrates or Governors, that are sent by him. Thus, the Revealed Law not interposing it's Authority, in prescribing any particular Form, but leaving Men to their natural Rights, the † *Powers that be*, by this Consent, are ordained of God; and, as he is Supreme Lord and Governor of the Universe, and it belongs to him to protect and cherish the Good, and punish the Evil; he deposes that Power to the Magistrate of the People, equally in Monarchies and Republicks; he becomes his Minister for the Praise of them that do well, and to take Vengeance on him that doeth Evil; and for that Reason, beareth the Sword, and hath the Power of Life and Death committed to him. Thus, for any private Person to resist the Power, so constituted by Consent of the People, and ordained by God, is to resist the Ordinance of God, and

* 1 Pet. ij.

† Epistle to the Romans, ch. xiii.

they that resist, shall receive unto themselves Damnation. Now, no one can *resist* the Ordinance of God, unless it be the Ordinance of Man too; for one *supposes* the other, as the *Foundation*, or *necessary Condition*, of the *Ministry* or *Vicergerency* of God.

The Design of the Revealed Law in these Passages, is not to *ascertain* what is a lawful Government, what unlawful; but it *supposes* a lawful Government or Right to govern, on the Principles of the Law of Nature, and enforces Obedience to it; and the *Non-Resistance* it enjoins, is Non-Resistance to Powers, who, on those Principles, which are here supposed to be that Consent which gives the Right, are *entitled to Obedience*. If these Passages of *St Peter* and *St Paul*, relate to all Ages, this is the Sense of them; if to Christians of *that Age only*, and they respect *only* the Behaviour of Christians at that Juncture, to the *Roman Civil Power*; then the Matter is in the Divine Revealed Law, left *entirely* upon the Foot of the *Natural*: for nothing else is pretended to be brought from thence to build the Notion on, of the *Unlawfulness* of the *Resistance* at the *Revolution*. On this plain Foot then, stands the Rights of Civil Government, *considered as a Trust*, in the Law of Nature, and the Revealed Law.

Now there cannot be a greater Insult on the common Sense of Mankind, offered by the Insolence of Power, or the Flattery of it's Vassals, than indefeasible hereditary Right on these

these Principles. It supposes, that the Prince is *intrusted* by the People, to *break his Trust*, if he pleases; that the Consent of the People, which gives the Right of governing, is a Consent, *on Conditions*, and *no Conditions*, at the same Time. If the People entrust the Prince to govern with an *unlimited* Power, as he pleases, that he should employ that Power *for their Benefit*, is a *supposed Condition of Government*; 'tis the *End* for which the Power is given, and the very *Consideration of the Consent*: If the Power entrusted be *limited*, those *Limitations* are the *Conditions of the Trust*, the *Conditions of Consent*. While the Prince, intrusted with the *absolute* Power, employs that Power for the *Good of the People*; or he that has a *limited* one, keeps *within* those *Limitations*; they govern by the *Consent* that gives the *Right* of governing, they are *rightful* and *lawful* Princes, and *Non-Resistance* is the *Duty of every Subject*: But, if the former abuses his *absolute* Power to the *Prejudice* of the People; and the latter, instead of governing within the *Limitations* set him, assumes and claims the *absolute* Power of the other; they *abuse their Trust*, no longer govern by the *Consent* that gives the *Right*, are *no longer rightful Princes*, but become *Tyrants*, and govern by *Force*, not *Consent of the People*. So that the Point of *Right* is not, on these Principles, Whether a Prince has an *indefeasible* Right, that he cannot possibly have; but, Whether he has violated his *Trust* or not; Whether, when intrusted with *absolute* Power, he has abused

that Power to their *Prejudice*; Whether, if with a *limited* Power, he has abused his Trust, and assumed an *unlimited* one; that is, Whether 'tis by the *Consent of the People*, or by *Force*, he rules. Now, that *James II* did thus *abuse his Trust*, that he *assumed* a Power, *not given him by the Laws*, the Limitations of his Power; that the People did *withdraw their Consent* from him, his Son and his Descendants, being any longer our Kings, is as evident, as 'tis that the Sun shines at Noon-Day; that is, *that they have no Right to the Crown*, considered as a *Trust*.

Thus, my Countrymen, consider Government either as a Property or a Trust, and it must be one or t'other, the *Stuart Branch* of the *Royal Family*, have no Right, on the Foot they claim it, of *indefeasible hereditary Right*; have *no Right at all* to the Crown of *Great Britain*, and the present Claimant of that Branch, is *truly*, what he is on this, as well as the Account of his Birth, *called*, a *Pretender*. So that if he is to be received, 'tis upon the Foot of *Expediency*, not of *Right*. Now, that they have no Manner of Pretensions on the Foot of *Expediency*, has, if I mistake not, been *abundantly* shewn in the former Part of this Address. And was there nothing else but this one Consideration against it, that as he comes, he comes by *Conquest*; and so, should he (Heavens avert the Stroke!) succeed, he would have all the *Rights* of Conquest; and we, our Wives, our Children, Parents, Friends, Relations, all that is dear and valuable to us, that is, in one Word,
our

our *Country*, the Lives, the Properties of all would become *His*, (distracting Thought to a free born Soul!) his *Property*, his *Right*, as well as his *Possession*. A Thought sure, that cannot but rouse every Englishman, out of unconcerned Indifference, into animated Zeal and vigorous Activity. *If ever all that Man can do, ought to be done, 'tis when All is at Stake.* How will you, my *infatuated* Countrymen, when you shall be suffering under the cursed Effects of your Indifference, be able to support the Thought, *That had you done your Duty, you might have prevented all!*

But—one Step farther, my Countrymen, suppose you do not see Things in the Light I have there and here represented them; nay, suppose you still continue to think a Restoration for the Interest of your Country, that 'tis as least *expedient*; give me Leave to tell you, that you are not *at Liberty* to choose, you are under an *Obligation already*.

When I have proved to you that the *Pretender* has no Right to the Crown, I need not, I imagine, spend much Time to shew, that his *Majesty has*. You'll easily, I believe, be brought to think *he has*, if the other *has not*; at least that he has had, and that the Nation did no more, when it entailed the Succession on the House of *Hanover* than it had a *Right* to do.

If Government be a Trust, and the Consent of the People give the Right; they gave their Consent, in the established Method of National Consent, by a rightful Prince, Lords,
and

and Commons; and that Consent has now continued for near Fifty Years.

If it be said, that the Government *here* stands upon the Foot of the National Compact, as derived down to us, in the several Variations it has received, from the *Conquest*; and therefore we are *precluded* from the *Original* Rights of the People, only so far as they are *restored* by the Concessions of the several Princes claiming under the Conqueror; and that according to the Course of Succession established among us, the Crown ought to have gone, upon the *Stuarts* forfeiting their Right to it, to the next in Descent, which it did not, the Nation preferring the present Family to others nearer in Descent; 'tis easily answered, that this Course of Succession was not appointed by the Conqueror, he having preferred a younger Son to an Elder; that it has not been *so* observed, but that the King and Parliament have, on *Emergencies of State*, often altered it; and that *this Power* is Part of the Concessions made to the People, and Part of the *National Compact*, between the People and the Claimants from the Conqueror; and that therefore, his Majesty has as full a Claim under *that Compact*, as under that of National Consent, supposing it to have stood upon it's Original Foot.

Thus is his Majesty's *Right* to the Crown, *either Way* clear. The remaining Questions are, has he *forfeited* this Right by any *Breach* of the Compact? And if he has not, what *Obligation* does this lay on the Subject, that he

is not *at Liberty* to act according to what he thinks the *Expediency* of the State, but bound, notwithstanding his private Opinion, to *obey*.

That His Majesty has *not* in a single Instance violated either the Conditions of *National Consent*, or the *National Compact* derived down to us from the Conquest, for the *Conditions* are the same in both, though the *Original* of the Compact may be different, is as indisputable, as that King *James* did in several. Let any Man go over the *Declaration of Rights* at the Revolution, and see if he can find out the least Resemblance of a Violation of any *one* Particular. Or has the farther Compact of the *Act of Settlement* been broke through by any *Act of Authority*, or *Prerogative* of the Prince? The Alterations, that have since been made in it, have been made by the *same* Authority that gave it its Force, by *Act of Parliament*; and some of them, all I think, but that of not visiting the foreign Dominions without Consent of Parliament, before the *Accession* of the Family; so that they cannot be imputed even to any *Sinister* Influence. What *Obligation* then of *Obedience* does this plain and manifest Right to the Crown lay upon the Subject?

It may possibly be here thought, that if Government be only *meerly a voluntary Trust* from the People, and the *Consent* makes the *Right*, that there is an Obligation only on *one Side*, of *Fidelity* to the *Trust* in the *Prince*; and that the *People* are at Liberty, to *choose* their *Governors*, meerly for Expedience, and
change

change as they think fit. I will not here enquire whether this follows from such an Hypothesis of Government; but if it does, it follows that *ours* is not *such a Constitution*; for it supposes not only the *Prince* to give Assurances of his Fidelity to his Trust, by the *Coronation Oath*, but the *People* likewise of Obedience to the Prince by the *Oaths of Allegiance*; it supposes the Stipulation to be *mutual*, and the *People* to be bound to obey, if the *Prince* be faithful to the Trust: hence it follows, that the People are not at *Liberty* to remove one Prince for another, while the Prince observes the Stipulations made. But were the People in their *National Capacity* so, it would not follow that *Individuals* are; but if the *Nation* is not, how can any *particular Member* pretend to be so?

You are not therefore, my mistaken Countrymen, to imagine, though you think a Change of Government would be for the Interest of your Country, that is in reality, though you like it, that you are at Liberty to attempt it in *any* way, but much less in *the present*. The single Point is, has His Majesty violated the *Conditions* of Government? If not, to join in the present Attempt, is to attempt to deprive him of his *Right*; it is to set up your *private* Sense against the *National* Consent of your Country, to whose Protection you owe the Lives and Properties of you and your's; it is to attempt to *force* them, not only to do, what they have no Right to do, if they should think fit, but what they are

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not

not at Liberty by the Compact they have entered into with the present Prince to do; it is to attempt to do this, not only by Means in themselves unlawful, but by Means which include in them some of the most grievous Crimes that Men can be guilty of, manifold Robberies, and Murders, that is, in one Word, by *Rebellion*: A Crime, which is but *another Name*, for all the Contumely and Violence offered in it to the helpless Innocent; for all the Robberies, and Murders it produces; for all that Treason to King and Country, which the very Act comprehends in it; and which, in the present Case, is *aggravated* with the odious Character of *joining with the Enemies of our Country*, Enemies at open War with it, *against it*. Such now, infatuated Countrymen, is *Rebellion*, the *Rebellion*; which you, without considering what it is, are rushing into; such is Rebellion considered only on the Foot of the *Law of Nature*.

But if you are *Christians*, as well as *Men*, if you believe that Religion you profess; then is Rebellion, not only Rebellion against *Man*, but *God*: It is resisting *his* Ordinance, as well as the Ordinance of Man. The Peoples King, the lawful King is *God's Minister*, is *God's Vicegerent*.

Such is Rebellion, if you are a *Member only* of the Community, if you are *as such*, *comprized* in the *National Compact*, and in consequence thereof, as *such*, under an *Obligation to obey*, and have received the Protection of Life and Property, under that Compact: Such, my
I Countrymen,

Countrymen, is Rebellion, though you have *not taken the Oaths of Fidelity* to the Prince; but if you have—then Rebellion is *Perjury* besides. It has been proved, that the Prince, to whom you have so religiously plighted your Faith, is a *lawful* Prince; if so, the *Oath of Allegiance* to him cannot be *unlawful*: Besides, you were not *obliged* to take this Oath, you might have refused it, if you thought it unlawful; and it would have been attended only with some *Disadvantages* of Fortune, or prevented you from *holding* some *Station of Profit* or *Honour* in the Community, which you do, or have held. Now, my Countrymen, what *more* than *Popish*, what *worse* than *Jesuitical*, what *bellish* Casuistry must that be, that must tell a Man, that he is not obliged to keep a *lawful* Oath, which he has *voluntarily* taken. If a Man will not be held by *such* Ties, he will by none, *Human* or *Divine*. But no more of the Obligation of Oaths, of the Wickedness of *Political Perjury*; if what a *most reverend Prelate* has said, will not prevail on you to have a *Regard of the Oath of God*, I am sure, whatever I can say will not.

But one Word more, my Countrymen, to your Interests; to that you cannot be indifferent, whatever you may be to Duty. Consider, I conjure you, *what you yourselves embark* in this desperate Cause, your Lives, your Fortunes, the Happiness of yourselves and Posterity? You know the *Rewards* of *successless* Rebellion—Place before your Eyes the Hurdle, and Knife of the Executioner, the Tears and

Cries of parting Wife and Children, the Distress of Friends and Relations, the Confiscation of your Estate, the future Misery of your Posterity, who will have abundant Reason to curse that Rashness that reduced them to what they are; what's more, if you are a Christian, place before you that *Damnation* which the Gospel denounces against those that *resist* the Ordinance of God, their lawful Prince; and then ask yourself, for *what* do you *risque* all this? *To sacrifice your Religion, to enslave your Country, your own Posterity*: For in this, should you have all the Success, and all the *Rewards of Success*, that the fondest Imagination can paint; in this, be assured, my blinded Countrymen, will *all your Success end*.

Upon the whole, a Point of the utmost Importance to our Country, to ourselves and Posterity, is now depending; it requires therefore, from every one a most heedful Attention. The Person in whose Behalf your Favour is courted in this Declaration, is a *Bigot to Popery*; he claims the Crown as *his Right*; and he is to be supported in the Attempt by the *Arms of France and Spain*, our old Enemies, and at War with us. These are plain, indisputable Facts—His Bigotry, be he a *good* or a *bad* Man, must lead him in *Proportion to it*, to *desire the Change of our Religion*; nay, he cannot *possibly* be *what* the Constitution of our Religion suppose him to be. We have the greatest Reason therefore to fear, that as soon as he should have it in his Power, he would *force his Religion* on us. Now 'tis Madness out of *Despair* of our
I 2 *Religion*

Religion recovering it's Influence over the Minds of our People to abandon the Defence of it; 'tis the Interest of *the Great* to endeavour the re-establishing of that Influence, and they will not probably be long blind to it; nay, 'tis the *Interest* of those who have really *no Religion* themselves, to join heartily in supporting the *Religion established*, against Popery, as 'tis much more suited to the *Civil Interests* of a *free State*, and as Popery is much less so to their *particular Humour and Interests*. — We have as much to fear from his *Principles of Government* as *Religion*. He does not *disavow the Arbitrary Maxims of his Family*, but now claims the Crown as his *Right*, on *Principles absolutely inconsistent* with our Constitution and Liberties; and we therefore, have as much Reason to think, that he would take the *first Opportunity* of making himself absolute, and of *destroying our Liberties* as well as our *Religion*. — Now the Power of doing *both*, he will, in case of Success, immediately have. He cannot succeed but by *Conquest*, and by the *Arms of France and Spain*; and from *such a Conquest* we have all the *worst* to fear, that a Free and a Protestant People can fear, a *general Massacre, and Proscription of the Rich and Powerful*, as what would best answer the Views of the several Parties interested, and be at such a *Juncture*, very easily effected — Against this we have no *Security*, but the *great Wickedness* of the Thing, or the *Promises* in this Declaration. — There are *many Instances of as great Wickedness*. And as to *Promises*, those relating
to

to *Religion* there is no relying on, against the *known Principles of Popery*: Those relating to *Property* are *defective*; accompanied with *want of Veracity* clear and indisputable; the *Authority*, by which they are made, *uncertain*; and the *Promises* themselves *evasive*, *nothing* being in *particular* promised, but *all* referred to a *Free Parliament*, which necessarily must in such a Situation, be a *Parliament of his own Creatures*.——Supposing such a Proscription should not take Place, *at best* he would *have it in his Power* to make himself *absolute*, according to his Principles of Government; and very great *Sacrifices* must be made of the *Interests* of *England* to *France* and *Spain*.——The Grievances we *at present* complain of, a Redress of which is as *evasively* promised, bear *no Proportion* to the *Evils on the other Side*; they do not *immediately* threaten Liberty——*should* our Liberties be attempted, we should *at any Time* have the same *kind of Redress* as now, and in *much better Circumstances*. Which Side then is more for the *Interest of our Country*, of our *Religious* and *Civil Rights*, let any one judge!

As to the Matter of *Right*——Suppose Monarchy to be either a *Property*, or a *Trust*, there is no such Thing *among us* as an *indefeasible, hereditary, jure divino Right*, on which he claims; and therefore, he has *no Right* to the Crown, to debar us from pursuing what is most for our Interest——His Majesty *has a Right*, consider the Crown *either* as a *Property* or a *Trust*——This Right includes in it in the present

present Case, an *Obligation to Obedience*, and does not leave us *at Liberty* to act as we please, or to choose our Side——And the *Breach* of this Obligation is a *most flagitious Crime*, and as *desperate*, as *wicked*.

I have only farther to ask, *Are these Things so, or not?* Judge, my Countrymen, but judge *impartially*; the Subject is a Matter of highest *Duty*, highest *Interest*. If they are, can you doubt *which Way* to act? With what *Vigour* and *Steadiness* you ought to act? Should I by inducing you to *consider*, have lead you into a *juster Sense* of Things, what Pleasure would it be to your

Countryman,

Fellow-Protestant,

and Fellow-Subject,

Nov. 25, 1745.

An ENGLISHMAN.



